

The Present Condition of Ireland

The Full Text of the Report Made by the American Commissioners, Frank P. Walsh, Edward F. Dunne and Michael J. Ryan.

UPON May 2, 1919, the American Commission on Irish Independence, appointed by authority of the Irish Race Convention held in Philadelphia on the 22nd and 23rd days of February, 1919, consisting of Frank P. Walsh, chairman; Edward F. Dunne and Michael J. Ryan, under passports issued by the American and English Embassies in Paris, departed for Ireland for the purpose of conferring with President De Valera and other officials of the Irish Republican Government, and to make a first-hand study of actual conditions in that country.

When the passports were handed to the American Commissioners on the morning of their departure for Ireland, Sir William Wiseman stated that Mr. Lloyd George wished the Commission to go to all parts of Ireland, if possible, and it was his especial request that they should visit Belfast.

Upon repeating Sir William Wiseman's request to Messrs. Sean T. O'Ceallaigh and George Gavan Duffy, the Envoys of the Irish Republican Government at Paris, they joined in the request that we should make a close investigation of conditions in Ireland, and especially urged that we should visit the jails, particularly those in the larger cities, where they asserted, hundreds of men and women were confined under circumstances of the most shocking nature.

Crossing the Irish Sea from Holyhead to Dunleary we came upon the first evidence of the military occupation of Ireland. The vessel and wharves swarmed with soldiers, fully equipped for the field, going to and coming from Ireland. When we arrived in Ireland we found soldiers everywhere. A careful investigation, made on the day before we left Ireland, showed that the Army of Occupation numbers considerably over 100,000 men, to which accessions are being made daily. The troops are

equipped with lorries, armored cars, tanks, machine guns, bombing planes, light and heavy artillery, and in fact, all of the engines of war lately employed against the Central Powers. In addition to this, there are approximately 15,000 members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The constabulary is a branch of the military forces. They are armed with rifles, as well as small side-arms, engage in regular drill and field-maneuvers. They are never residents of the districts which they occupy, and have quarters in regular Government barracks.

After our arrival in Ireland we conferred with President De Valera as to the prisons which we should visit, and Mountjoy Jail, in the City of Dublin, was selected, for the reason that it contained a large number of political prisoners, many of them men of the highest character and standing. Mountjoy, so far as physical equipment and brutality of conduct goes, is not as bad as many of the other jails in Ireland.

THE VISIT OF MOUNTJOY PRISON.

We made our demand for permission to visit this jail through the municipal authorities of the City of Dublin. The Governor of the prison, a resident of England, who had been in office but a few weeks, refused us admission. It was then explained to Sir John Irwin, chairman of the Visiting Justices of Mountjoy Prison, that the Commission was traveling on diplomatic passports and was investigating conditions in Ireland, partly at the solicitation of the Prime Minister. With this explanation, Sir John Irwin, who is in supreme authority of the jail, overruled the decision of the Governor, and we were admitted to Mountjoy. When we appeared at the gate we were ushered into the office of the Governor, where we found Sir John Irwin. The Governor told us that we were to be admitted to the prison, but with the understanding that we should not speak to any prisoner, nor seek to fix the identity of any prisoner exhibited.

Although Mountjoy is called a jail, it is, as a matter of fact, a combination of jail and penitentiary. It is surrounded by a stone wall twenty feet in height and is larger than any of the Mid-Western American penitentiaries such as Jefferson City or Joliet, and almost as large as Sing Sing. It has immense cell houses, built to accommodate approximately 1,000 prisoners. It is

equipped with workshops, where men convicted of serious crimes are confined at hard labor. It is also used for the confinement of persons awaiting trial, as well as misdemeanants serving sentences for petty offenses. Exclusive of the political prisoners, there were but twelve persons in confinement, all of them undergoing sentences for petty infractions of law.

One of the men who accompanied us upon the visit was an official of the City of Dublin, well acquainted with all of the political prisoners, so that we had no difficulty in identifying them. They were confined for the most part in groups, the majority of them being locked up in steel cages built in the yards of the prison, entirely outside the buildings proper. These cages are exact duplicates of those used for wild animals in the larger zoological gardens, such as Lincoln Park and the Bronx, in the United States.

Statements had been made that unspeakable outrages were being committed against the persons of these men, and most barbarous cruelties inflicted upon them, that they have been starved, beaten, confined in dark and noisome underground cells, otherwise maltreated and kept for days with their hands handcuffed behind their backs. We attempted to secure statements from the officers, either confirming or denying the charges. We were permitted to talk to no one inside the prison except the Governor. He stated that no such barbarities had been committed since he had taken charge of the prison, a week or two before.

He refused to speak for any time prior to that. He at first denied that there were underground cells in the prison. We had been furnished, however, with a plan showing their location, and upon our insistence we were allowed entrance. We found a great number of cells underground, too narrow for human occupation, without beds or covering for the prisoners, no ventilation, pitch-dark and extremely cold, although the weather at the time was not severe. The Chief Warden admitted that these cells were at times occupied by prisoners.

Our information, well-authenticated, was to the effect that a large number of political prisoners were taken out of the underground cells after we had demanded admission the night previous.

THE POLITICAL PRISONERS.

We found one of the political prisoners still in solitary confinement. He presented a pitiable spectacle. The miserable cell was cold and badly ventilated. He was in an unkempt condition, highly nervous, palpably undernourished, and had a wild glare in his eyes, indicating an extremely dangerous mental state. He tried to speak to us, but was quickly silenced by the Warden.

The political prisoners in this jail, without exception, are men of the highest standing, journalists, lawyers, business men, skilled tradesmen and laborers. Many of them, confined for months, have not been informed of the charge against them. When charges are made, often of the most trivial character, bail is denied. They were all emaciated and appeared to be suffering from malnutrition.

Of the thousands of German prisoners we have seen in France none of them showed such wretched physical condition, or had countenances so marked with pain as the prisoners in Mountjoy. As we were leaving the prison we were attracted by shouts in the rear of the main hall of the prison. Looking around, we saw Pierce Beasley, one of the political prisoners, an Irish journalist of the highest standing, and one of the most beloved men in Ireland, being hustled through the back doorway by a burly prison guard. Beasley cried out: "I want to call your attention to the fact that this brute who has me in charge is about to punish me for saying: 'Long Live the Republic!'"

We immediately protested against the assault on Mr. Beasley. The Governor of the prison hastened back to where the men were, and, after a hurried whispered conversation with the guard, returned and said we could be assured that no punishment would be inflicted upon Mr. Beasley. Upon our return from the prison we were furnished with detailed statements of others who had been confined in the prison, exposing the vilest atrocities committed against prisoners.

Having received information that there was a large number of prisoners confined in a smaller prison in the town of Westport, County Mayo, which place was invested by troops, and that cruelties and barbarities were being practised upon them, we announced our intention

after leaving Mountjoy Jail, of visiting Westport. Shortly before the departure of our train upon the following evening two policemen appeared at our apartments and handed us an unsigned typewritten letter, notifying us that we would not be permitted to enter the town of Westport, the only reason given being that it 'was within a military area.' We proceeded, nevertheless, to Westport.

As we approached the town a company of soldiers met us about three miles out, and the lieutenant announced in a surly tone, that under no circumstances would we be permitted to enter.

We demanded to see the Colonel, to whom we showed our passports, repeated our message of Mr. Lloyd George delivered through Sir William Wiseman, to the effect that he wanted us to visit all of Ireland, explained that we were conducting an investigation under the authority of the Prime Minister.

We advised him that we understood that revolting conditions existed in Westport. The Colonel, however, declared that he would take the full responsibility of not complying with the request of even so high a personage as the Prime Minister of England, though he stated that he was acting on orders from the Government officials in Dublin.

Many of the persons we met in the vicinity corroborated the stories of brutal treatment to which prisoners in the Westport Jail were being subjected, the details being horrible beyond belief. During our visit to Ireland we witnessed numerous assaults in public streets and highways with bayonets and clubbed rifles, upon men and women known to be Republicans, or suspected of being in favor of a republican form of government. Many of the outraged persons were men and women of exemplary character, and occupy high positions in the business and professional life of the country. We took statements covering hundreds of cases of outrage and violence committed by the officers and representatives of the British Government in Ireland, the details of which we set forth herein.

The excesses and atrocities detailed are either being actually committed at the present time or have been committed within the recent past, as a part of a scheme

and plan to crush out and repress the effort of the Irish people to establish a republican form of government in Ireland. Upon the basis of what we witnessed ourselves, as well as statements of men and women of unimpeachable integrity, we make the following specific charges:

THE COMMISSION'S CHARGES.

1. Within the past few months at least ten citizens have been killed by soldiers and constables under circumstances which in a majority of the cases coroners' juries found to be wilful murder under the laws of England; the last man having been murdered in this way less than a month ago. In all of these cases the perpetrators of the crimes have gone unpunished.
2. Hundreds of men and women have been confined for months in the vilest prisons without any charges being preferred against them.
3. At least five men have died as the result of atrocities perpetrated upon them while in prison, the post-mortem examination in some of the cases disclosing marks of violence upon the bodies of the victims.
4. Prisoners are confined in narrow cells with hands handcuffed behind them day and night. In this condition they are fed by jail attendants. They are permitted no opportunity of answering calls of nature, and are compelled to lie in their clothing, befouled by human excrement for days at a time.
5. Persons are confined in cells which are not large enough for one man. They are not provided with beds or bunks of any kind, but are compelled to sleep upon the bare floors. There are no toilet facilities or receptacles to contain human offal, which has necessarily accumulated upon the floors, where men are compelled to sleep in filth, night after night.
6. The food is insufficient and unwholesome. The prisoners, both men and women, are compelled to live days upon water and poorly baked, sour, stale bread.
7. Hundreds of men and women have been discharged from jail with impaired constitutions, in many cases incurable invalids, as a result of their treatment.
8. During part of the winter and spring streams of ice-cold water were poured over the men confined in the jails and they were compelled to lie all night on cold floors

in unheated cells in their wet clothing. Many of them were afterward removed to outside hospitals suffering with pneumonia.

9. Policemen and soldiers habitually are permitted to enter cells where political prisoners are confined and beat them with their clubs.

10. Solitary confinement in its most horrible form has generally been practised. Numbers of prisoners have been taken directly from jails to insane asylums, rendered maniacs by this treatment.

11. Large bodies of political prisoners in certain jails have been kept without any food whatever for days at a time.

12. The right of privacy no longer exists in Ireland. Homes constantly are being invaded by armed men, and the occupants, including delicate women and young children are cruelly beaten and otherwise maltreated.

13. Children of suspected Republicans, many of them of tender years, are kidnapped and their parents kept in ignorance of their whereabouts for weeks.

14. Women and children of refinement and respectability are arrested without warrants and in company with rough, brutal soldiers are transported to distant parts of Ireland and England, where they are confined in jail with the lowest prostitutes.

15. The right to own private property no longer exists in Ireland. The places of business of Republicans are invaded by soldiers and constables, the fixtures destroyed and the property confiscated without compensation. In many cases the owners of such business property have been utterly impoverished.

16. The heads of hundreds of families have been jailed or deported, leaving their dependent women and children without means of subsistence. These dependents are being rendered objects of public charity.

17. Men and women, on the mere suspicion of being Republican sympathizers, are being taken from their homes or arrested in the streets or highways and deported to England, or else they are confined in jails in remote places from their homes, while their distracted families sometimes are kept in ignorance of their whereabouts for many months,

HIGH CHARACTER OF THE PRISONERS.

Among the leaders of the Republican movement in Ireland, many of whom have had these atrocities practised upon their persons, are lawyers, such as Edward Duggan, George Nichols and John Hanrahan, who rank relatively with such men in the United States as Morgan J. O'Brien, John B. Stanchfield, Levi Mayer, or A. Mitchell Palmer.

Some of the men whom we actually saw in jail, in a pitiable condition, were newspaper men who rank with Henry Watterson, or the late Colonel William R. Nelson, of Kansas City. This comparison is made because two of the prisoners in Mountjoy, Messrs. Pierce Beasley and William Sears, are the owners or principal stockholders of papers which they edit themselves. Many others we actually saw in prison are working newspapermen and correspondents of high-class publications, such as Charles H. Grasty, Frank H. Simonds, and Herbert Bayard Swope. Among the men we saw in prison are stock-raisers and farmers, business men of large affairs, and literary men of brilliant parts and of the highest character.

We witnessed, while in Ireland, a brutal and unprovoked assault by an English colonel and a crowd of soldiers upon the person of Professor John MacNeill. Professor MacNeill is a member of the faculty of the National University, is an educator and publicist of the highest type, and occupies relatively the same position in Ireland that William Howard Taft or Nicholas Murray Butler does in the United States.

If England ever had an educational system in Ireland, it has completely broken down. The Irish people are taxed more for the support of the police and constabulary—although the country is practically crimeless in the ordinary sense—than they are for the maintenance of the whole educational system of Ireland, including the upkeep of the National University and Trinity College, as well as all the primary and other schools in the land. School teachers in the primary schools are paid as low as \$4.00 per week. No system of hygiene or sanitation has been installed. The teeth of practically all the children are in decay, and respiratory and throat troubles exist to an alarming degree. Lack of decent clothing and

under-nourishment is keeping thousands of children out of school.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

In the City of Dublin alone there are 20,000 families, on an average of five to each family, living in one-room tenements. Infant mortality is appalling. Destitution and hunger is rife. Municipal bodies and private persons are attempting to extend relief, but all such activities must have the sanction of the British Government, which is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. The much vaunted Land Laws have not appreciably aided in decreasing poverty in the agricultural districts. Leaving out of the question the manifold defects and hardships in the operations of the law, all the farmer should gain by his ownership of the land is taken away from him by unjust taxes.

When the first Land Law was passed in 1881 the direct per-capita tax in Ireland was about \$6.00 per head. At the present time the direct taxation, imposed by British law, amounts annually to the enormous sum of \$45.00. The indirect taxation of the people cannot be accurately estimated, but is higher proportionately than in any other country in the world. The age-old curse of absentee landlordism still cuts deeply into the economic heart of Ireland. Hundreds of thousands of its most fertile acres are owned by foreigners. As quickly as the rich crops are garnered they are taken out of the country, and this immense food supply and almost infinite source of wealth is lost to her forever.

England has absolutely cut off Ireland from the outside commerce of the world, allows no ship to come trans-Atlantic to her ports, and thus controls the prices of the necessities of life for her inhabitants. This combined system of taxation and monopoly automatically takes away the legitimate profit from the farmer, no matter how fertile the land, propitious the season, or energetic the individual, and sucks the life blood out of all industry.

Ireland has the best organized and most coherent labor movement in the world. It is being thwarted and suppressed by the army and constabulary. Wages of unskilled workers are below the line which means to them hunger, cold and privation. The wages of skilled labor is far below the minimum for decent existence.

In many of the larger cities and towns the trade unions have a 100 per cent. organization. We met and interviewed almost all of the national leaders of labor. The heads of the National Irish Labor party, which is in control of the situation, are, without exception, ardent Republicans, fully alive to their rights and demanding self-determination for Ireland. They have all been the innocent victims of atrocities against their own persons, such as are enumerated herein, in the jails of Ireland and England. They are attempting to work along traditional trade union lines, but if relief is not extended to Ireland, and quickly, many of them declare that, in sheer defense of their own lives, they must set up local Soviet governments, and refuse to produce wealth for their oppressors.

THE REVOLUTION'S GRIM CHARACTER.

Ireland, for the first time in more than 100 years, is absolutely cut off from England, its regularly elected members of Parliament having, with few exceptions, refused to go to Westminster. They are attempting, under the guns of the English soldiers, to hold orderly sessions in the Mansion House in Dublin. There is a military organization of approximately 200,000 men of fighting age, poorly equipped as to arms, and without artillery. They appear to be well-officered, and seemingly maintain a perfect organization, engaging in daily drills and frequent maneuvers.

Upon all sides may be heard declarations that they are ready to fight and die for the right of self-determination, no matter how great the odds against them may be. The killing by the British Government of these 200,000 men would not settle the Irish problem. Those below the fighting age, and even the children of Ireland, are singing "The Soldier's Song," shouting "Long live the Republic!" and trying to enlist in the revolutionary movement.

Mr. Erskine Childers, an English writer of high repute, who served Great Britain throughout the war in the Royal Naval Flying Corps, coming out a major, made the following declaration in regard to the Irish situation in the London *Daily Herald*, of May 26, 1919:

I could bomb a crowd from an aeroplane with a better conscience (and more skill) than engage in this cold-blooded

systematic condemnation of respectable people to the rigors and ignominies of jail life—to loss of health, loss of business and career, too often to loss of life; not for breaking the moral law, but in very truth for obeying that universal law which impels men worthy of the name of men to become free.

Lord Cavendish Bentinck, a Unionist Member of the House of Commons, within the last month declared upon the floor of that body that England was not governing Ireland, but was engaged in a mere scuffle with the Irish people. The Lord Chancellor of England, in an official report to the House of Lords within the last fortnight, made the confession that the vast majority of the people of Ireland were now in open rebellion against the rule of the British Government.

Right Honorable Herbert H. Asquith, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, made the following statement upon June 2, 1919, which appeared in today's *London Daily Mail*: "Lord French is at present Viceroy of Ireland, which today is the darkest of the dark spots on the map, not of Great Britain, but of the world."

AN INVESTIGATION DEMANDED.

All of the charges herein made are based upon the actual observation of the signers while in Ireland, or based upon the statements of men and women of unimpeachable character, who are prepared to make direct legal proof of every crime and atrocity set forth.

The Government of Great Britain, up to this time, has measurably succeeded in hiding the details of these atrocities from the Peace Conference and the people of the world. From time to time, when crimes and atrocities are forced into publicity, they are met in three ways:

(a) Some distinguished English statesman or high official, usually one without personal knowledge of the facts, solemnly denies the truth of the charges. (b) The British press impressively and unanimously denounces the charges as false, and carries many communications from persons claiming to have knowledge of the facts, and bearing testimony to their falsity. (c) Government investigations before partisan judges, where testimony is controlled by implicated officials, resort often being to intimidation of witnesses and subornation of perjury.

In order that the Peace Conference may act in the light of knowledge of the conditions, and be fully advised as to

the effort of England to keep the people of Ireland in subjection by military power and violence, in contravention of the principles for which the Peace Conference was convoked, we respectfully urge the appointment of a commission to ascertain the facts and report the same to the Peace Conference, and respectfully submit the following alternative suggestions as to its formation and appointment:

(a) That an impartial committee be appointed by the Peace Conference, authorized to sit in the cities of Dublin and London, to take testimony as to the alleged facts herein set forth. None of the members of such committee to be residents or citizens of Great Britain, Ireland, or any of the countries under the domination of Great Britain, or over which that country claims to exercise a protectorate or control.

(b) That a Committee of Seven be selected immediately in the manner following: The Prime Minister of England shall select three members; the elected representatives of Ireland, including Unionists, Nationalists and Republicans, shall, by a majority vote, select three members of said committee; that the six members thus selected shall agree upon a chairman, who shall be a resident and citizen of the United States, France, Italy or Japan. In case of inability or failure to agree upon a chairman, the selection shall be made by the Supreme Court of the United States.

That the Government of Great Britain and the elected members of Parliament from Ireland, as aforesaid, shall each have the right to select its own counsel, to conduct the examination of witnesses and assist in the investigation, the only restriction being that counsel so selected shall be reputable members of the legal profession in good standing in the country of which he or they are citizens.

We sincerely urge that if the Peace Conference refuses a hearing to the people of Ireland, in these circumstances, the guilt for the commission of these monstrous crimes and atrocities, as well as for the bloody revolution which may follow, must, from this time forward, be shared with Great Britain by the members of the Peace Conference, if not by the peoples whom they represent.

Respectfully submitted

AMERICAN COMMISSION OF IRISH INDEPENDENCE.

The Commission's Reply to Macpherson

The Answer Made by Frank P. Walsh and Edward F. Dunne to the Chief Secretary of Ireland's Denial of the Commission's Charges.

WE might refrain from making a reply to the answer of Mr. Macpherson, Chief Secretary of Ireland, for these reasons: 1. That our charges were not directed against subordinate officials of the English Government in Ireland, but against the Government of His Majesty King George V. 2. That the reply of Mr. Macpherson completely dodges the demand for an impartial commission of investigation, and is plainly an undignified effort upon the part of the English Government to try the Irish atrocity charges in friendly newspapers, instead of before an impartial tribunal. 3. That it took nearly two weeks to frame a reply, when any first-class government, with orderly department records, could have submitted an honest and truthful one within two hours. 4. That the reply, as characterized by the *London Times*, is halting, stammering and evasive. 5. On account of the damaging and shameful admissions of misgovernment and violation of human rights contained in the reply itself. 6. That the reply seeks to avoid impartial investigation by the substitution of a campaign of slander and abuse against an investigator who preferred charges. And to the points specifically denied in Mr. Macpherson's reply, to illustrate, we make the following offers to prove:

(a) The assault upon Professor MacNeill. In addition to the statement of the investigators who witnessed the assault, we will produce at least twenty impartial persons who saw the assault and will testify to its brutal nature and the insults which accompanied it.

(b) Political prisoners in animal cages. To prove that prisoners in the Mountjoy prison were on exhibition in cages used for wild animals we will produce photographs of the cages, unless they have been removed, in which

case we will produce at least fifty prisoners who occupied them, and countless number of impartial witnesses who saw them.

(c) Victims rendered insane. We will produce records of jails and insane asylums, as well as victims who have recovered and relatives of those who have not, to prove our charges that numbers of Irish Republicans were rendered insane by their treatment.

(d) Pneumonia victims. We will produce hospital records and the testimony of physicians of the highest standing, as well as intelligent and impartial witnesses, who treated and saw the victims while suffering from pneumonia caused by cold water thrown upon them and exposure in different prisons; also the names and death-certificates of those who died from such treatment.

(e) Dead, wounded and disabled. We will produce a list of dead and of those who were permanently maimed and disfigured by atrocities practiced upon them; also a list of those whose health has been shattered, accompanied by names and dates. A copy of this list of dead and wounded and permanently disabled is now in Washington for presentation to the Congress of the United States.

(f) Indisputable proof of other charges. These, as well as other charges, in the original and supplemental reports of our investigations we are ready to substantiate, not only by testimony of the victims, but by hundreds of disinterested witnesses, including past and present members of the English army and of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who, sickened by the atrocious acts they were called upon to perform and witness, either resigned their commissions or now stand ready to sacrifice their careers in the interest of humanity and justice.

(g) Result of refusal to grant an impartial court of inquiry. Unless the Government of Great Britain quickly agrees to the institution of an impartial court of inquiry by the Peace Congress, then its hypocritical pretension that it is the defender of small and weak nations will be exposed to the world in its nakedness.

DeValera's Appeal to America

The Statement Given to the Press by the President of the Irish Republic June 23 in New York.

FROM today, I am in America as the official head of the Republic established by the will of the Irish people, in accordance with the principles of self-determination. Last December Ireland, by a more than three-to-one majority of deputies, chosen by ballot on adult suffrage (the exact figures being seventy-nine to twenty-six), demanded her rights under this principle.

The deputies chosen on the direct issue of the establishment of the Republic, outnumber their opponents by more than two to one (the exact figures being seventy-three to thirty-two), nor are those who consider the Republic undesirable as numerous even as the thirty-two would indicate.

The degree of unanimity obtained in Ireland on this issue is higher than that claimed by the American Colonies when they declared their independence and decided that they would no longer allow themselves to be exploited by England in the interest of her imperialism.

You had your "Tories" and your "Loyalists" to whom Washington very properly sent the ultimatum that if they preferred the interest and protection of Britain to the freedom and happiness of their own country they might forthwith withdraw themselves and their families within the enemy lines.

The degree of unanimity obtained in Ireland is higher, too, than that by which your own glorious Union and Constitution were established. Had complete unanimity been insisted upon as a precedent to your independence, as some people pretend to believe it should be insisted upon in the recognition of ours, then you would not be today, as you are, a united nation, the greatest on the earth, with a unified territory that is a continent and a population and a prosperity that is the envy of the rest of the world, but merely thirteen miserable dis-united colonies with your people kept permanently divided by the intrigue of English statecraft into opposing and contending groups.

It was the hope of re-establishing such a condition and not any love for the Southerners that was the inspiring motive and object of England in aiding the South in your Civil War.

The factories which everywhere dot this land, the industries giving employment to your many millions of operatives and providing a profitable local market for the products of your soil would not exist. The jealousy of English manufacturers and merchants would have moved English legislators and English diplomats to compass their destruction at the very moment they were conceived. They would have destroyed yours as they have destroyed ours, and as they will continue to destroy them if they can but retain their mastery over us.

Your mercantile marine, which now carries the fruits of your industry to every land, would also be non-existent. England would have seen to it that only in her ships would she allow you to trade. The mistress of the seas does not nurture possible rivals, and your harbors, now busy with the ships and commerce of all nations, would be as idle and as undeveloped as ours.

IRELAND'S DEPLETED POPULATION.

Had the fathers of your country waited for this unattainable unanimity, your population, which within living memory has increased from about twenty millions to over one hundred and five millions, would, instead, have been reduced by one-half, as ours has been — an example unique among civilized peoples free or unfree.

Had Ireland been under Kaiser, Emperor or Czar, its population would have been doubled or trebled as the population of the three divisions of Poland, of Bohemia, of Alsace-Lorraine have been. Our population should normally have increased from eight millions to sixteen, instead our population, though we are the second most fecund race in the world, has decreased through English rule from eight million to four.

England would have contrived for you, even in your abounding land, the artificial famines recurring in every decade which she contrived in ours, which has been no less favored with natural gifts from the Almighty. Crushing your industries she would have forced the young, the enterprising, the bold, the very pick and flower of your manhood and womanhood into the emigrant ship to build

up the greatness of some new land where liberty to live and to develop was not denied them.

No! The leaders of the Revolution that made you a nation while admitting, as we do, that a minority has its rights, would not concede that the will of the minority should be allowed to prevail as a perpetual vote on the will of the majority. Rule of the people by the people would by such a concession be reduced to an absurdity.

The very same catch-cries and the very same tools were used by the British Government against the leaders of the American Revolution as are being used today against us. But your leaders acted and so have we acted. The majority behind them justified them. Our majority more than justifies us. They proclaimed their independence and their Republic. We have proclaimed our independence and our Republic.

The justice of their cause, even in the darkest moments, was for them a hope, a surety even, that they would ultimately win if they but persevered. The justice of our cause is similarly our surety. They fought. We have fought and are still fighting. They were called traitors and murderers. So are we, though we were never England's colony and never accepted England's rule.

THE AID OF AMERICA SOUGHT.

The men who established your Republic sought the aid of France. We seek the aid of America. It is to seek that aid that I am here, and I am confident that I shall not be disappointed. I come here entitled to speak for the Irish nation with an authority democratically as sound and as well-based as that with which President Wilson speaks for the United States, or Lloyd George for England, or Clemenceau for France.

I come directly from the people of Ireland to the people of America convinced that the American people, and consequently the American Government, which as a government of the people ought to reflect the people's will, will never consciously connive at, or allow itself to be made a party to, the suppression of the natural God-given right of the Irish nation to its liberty.

This great American nation, nurtured in liberty, has been Liberty's most consistent champion. It has never been appealed to in vain. When other chancellories and

cabinets callously closed their ears to the agonizing cries of the people of Poland, Greece, Hungary and the Latin races of this continent, timorous of offending the tyrants that held them writhing in their grasp—excusing themselves by the plea that they could not interfere in the affairs of other States—your nation, conscious of its mission, listened to them and braved their oppressors' wrath in succoring them.

It must surely be a source of pride to you all, as it is a source of hope to us, to reflect that never have you undertaken a cause that you did not bring it to triumph. The Latin nations as well as Poland, Hungary, Greece are now free States. Ireland, the one remaining nation in the slavery of alien rule, will similarly be free unless Americans make scraps of paper of their principles and prove false to the traditions their fathers have handed down to them.

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This, together with the author's history of the Jesuit Missions in Paraguay, is not altogether in accordance with the strictest historical facts, but gives an animated picture of the trials and the heroism of the missionaries and their flocks in two widely-separated parts of the world. Side by side with Miss Caddell's books should be read Father Bertrand Wilberforce's "Dominican Missioners and Martyrs in Japan" (Benziger). Read also Cunningham Graham's "A Vanished Arcadia" (Macmillan), a study from a non-Catholic, but in a sympathetic spirit of the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay. Full justice is done to the noble purpose of the Jesuit "Statesmen."

Devas, The Rev. R., O. P.:

Dominican Martyrs of Great Britain. Benziger, \$1.00

Drane, A. T.:

Knights of St. John.....Benziger, \$1.10

Striking sketches of the soldier-monks who saved the Cross from the Crescent or the ramparts of Malta and Rhodes.

Dunn, Mgr., J. J.:

Just de Bretenières...Propagation of the Faith, \$1.00

Dutto, The Rev. L. A.:

Bartholomew de las Casas.....Herder, \$1.50

A fine portrait of one of the greatest men of the New World; protector of the Indian and the slave. Sir Arthur Helps has also written a sympathetic biography of the great Dominican friar and bishop, although here and there his misunderstanding of Catholic faith and practice leads him astray.

Engelhardt, The Rev. Z., O. F. E.:

The Missions and Missionaries of

California (5 Vols.)Author, \$12.00

Simplicity of style, historic instinct and accuracy of scholarship mark these monumental volumes. In connection with Father Engelhardt's volumes read also Bryan Clinch's "California and Its Missions" (Ray and Whittaker).

Gasquet, Cardinal:

Abbot WallingfordHerder, \$0.50

English Monastic Life.....Benziger, \$2.00

In the first volume the learned Benedictine clears the memory of a great Catholic prelate from the odious charges brought against it. In the second he gives a vivid picture of pre-Reformation monastic life in England "As this life was presumably the same in all countries, at least in essential points, the book has more than a national value" (Father F. Betten, S.J.).

Hughes, The Rev. T., S.J.:

History of the Society of Jesus in

- North America, Colonial and Federal (2 Vols. text and 2 Vols. documents Longmans, \$27.00
- Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits Scribner, \$1.00

The second work, one of the "Great Educators' Series," is a presentation of the Jesuit educational system and ideals. It did pioneer work in the United States and was instrumental in refuting not only the slanders directed against Jesuit education but against that of the Catholic Church. The book exerted a great influence in arousing Catholics to better and more up to date methods of education. With regard to the "History of the Society of Jesus in North America," the *American Ecclesiastical Review* says: "In some respects Father Hughes has opened up to us an entire new treasury of information on subjects relating to the Church History of North America. He leaves our heretofore best interpreters, such as John Gilmary Shea, quite in the distance, and opens up new and encouraging aspects of our missionary labors in the past, albeit the story is by no means all praise and success."

Hughes, Catherine J.:

Father Lacombe Moffat, Yard, \$2.50

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Lechner, The Rev. P., O.S.B.:

Life and Times of St. Benedict Benziger, \$1.90

Martin, The Rev. F., S.J.:

Life of Father Isaac Jogues Benziger, \$1.00

Marshall, T. M. W.:

Christian Missions (2 Vols.) Kenedy, \$2.00

Full of information and interest but somewhat spoiled by a bitter tone of controversy.

Montalembert, Count R. de:

The Monks of the West Kenedy, \$2.00

Full of life and color, an epoch-making book and one of the best refutations of the stock-charges against the life and the ideals of monasticism. Throughout, the monks are represented as the highest exponents of what modern writers have called the science of social service. In some particulars this masterpiece of historical style and presentation is not quite up to the more exacting standards of historical criticism and research. The edition mentioned above is an abridged one; there is a fuller edition (Nimmo).